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Catherine II: Uniform Dresses and Regional Uniforms

Abstract: Soon after the *coup d'état* of 1762, which brought Catherine II, also known as Catherine the Great, to power, Vigilius Erichsen painted the equestrian portrait of the empress in the Life Guards' uniform. Catherine wore this uniform during the *coup* that dethroned her husband, Peter III. This article analyses this episode of cross-dressing in the context of Catherine's legitimation narrative. It further examines the empress' uniform dresses that she wore for various regimental occasions. The dresses combined elements of traditional Russian garments and European fashion. The final section of the article studies regional uniforms that Catherine II introduced for nobles, civil servants and their wives after Pugachev's rebellion (1773-1775) as part of her regional reforms. I discuss these uniforms in the context of a revival of interest in the regions and local civil service, and in the context of national and transnational processes in Europe in the late eighteenth century.

Keywords: Catherine II, cross-dressing, uniform dresses, regional reforms, regional uniforms

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Soon after the *coup* d'*état* of 1762, which led to the arrest and death of Emperor Peter III (1728-1762) and the accession of his wife Catherine II, also known as Catherine the Great, (1762-1796) to the throne, Vigilius Erichsen (1722-1782) painted a famous equestrian portrait of the empress. The portrait commemorated the events of the *coup* when the future empress donned the uniform of Alexander Talyzin (1734-1787), Captain of the Semenovsky Life Guards Regiment. This act of cross-dressing demonstrated Catherine's support of the regiments and the discontented population that resented Peter III's pro-Prussian policies. Princess Ekaterina Dashkova (1743-1810) described this episode in her memoirs (1804-1805) as follows:

> After a light meal, the Empress proposed to march to Peterhof at the head of the troops, and she appointed me to accompany her on this expedition. She had the idea of wearing a guards uniform and borrowed one from Captain Talyzin, and I, following her example, borrowed Lieutenant Pushkin's uniform—these two young officers were about our height. These outfits, it is worth to mention, were the old national uniform of the Preobrazhensky Regiment, worn since the time of Peter I until the time they were replaced by the Prussian uniforms that Peter III introduced. And it is a circumstance worthy of note that, hardly had the Empress entered St. Petersburg this morning, when the guards, as if by command, have taken off their foreign dress and reappeared from the first to the last in the old uniform of their country.[1]

Figure 1

In Princess Dashkova's narrative, the juxtaposition of Russian and Prussian uniforms generated rhetorical meanings, making the dressed bodies part of a political spectacle and

endowing them with the narratives of disavowal and legitimation. As the princess claimed, their supporters understood this language and almost immediately changed into the Life Guards' uniforms, which they preserved during Peter III's six-month reign. Peter I, also known as Peter the Great, (1682-1725) introduced these uniforms for his new regiments at the end of the seventeenth century and during his reign they acquired a symbolic value—they were associated with military successes in the Great Northern War (1700-1721) and Peter's modernisation reforms. The act of donning these uniforms during the coup symbolised the mending of a historical rupture created by Peter III's unpopular policies. In the context of anti-Prussian sentiments aggravated by the withdrawal of troops from the successfully fought Seven Years' War (1756-1763), Catherine's uniform indicated that she was someone who had Russian interests at heart.

In the act of donning the uniforms, both women, as Vera Proskurina has argued, exercised a strategy of political masquerade claiming that all eighteenth-century empresses in Russia deployed cross-dressing during their *coups d'états*. The scholar explains that the medieval concept of 'the King's two bodies', explored by Ernst Kantorowicz, developed in a peculiar way in Russia. The Russian Church and society denied women the right to be anointed sovereigns and instead assigned them the role of a 'blessed womb'—producing a royal heir. Consequently, the empresses deployed cross-dressing during palace revolutions as a symbolic way to validate their legitimacy.[2] As Igor' Zimin has further argued, while there was an element of play in Empress Elizabeth's cross-dressings: she enjoyed wearing male garments that flattered her body and started the practice of cross-dressing masquerades at court, Catherine's cross-dressing during the *coup* had more serious political implications, given that her claim to

the throne was problematic.[3] In what follows, I explore the political meanings of Catherine's 'investiture', which drew on the concept of the King's two bodies—the physical body of the sovereign and the body politic of his kingdom. The second concept gradually started to refer to the people organised politically under the King's authority and by extension to the sovereign territory of the state. I show how Catherine II extended the rhetorical and symbolic functions of dress to nobles and civil servants by shifting the emphasis from gender and national implications to those of symbolic heritage and affiliation. I focus on the discourse of belonging that she developed through her sartorially deployed *coup* narrative, royal ceremonies and regional policies showing how the complex culture of the uniform during that period became transposed into an idea of regional divisions as part of a policy of regulating the body politic.

Dress Discourse Enacted by Catherine II

Through the *Coup* Uniforms and Uniform Dresses

The episode of cross-dressing of Catherine II and Princess Dashkova during the *coup* became charged with the narrative of cultural heritage and loyalty to the legacies of Peter I and his daughter, Empress Elizabeth and helped validate Catherine's role of a sovereign in Russian culture. The rhetoric of this old-new dress reflected a turning point in state policies and introduced an informal discourse of affiliation and belonging, which Catherine II relied on frequently during her reign, oftentimes highlighting the relationships of kinship with the population. Through this initiation process, the future empress became symbolically linked with the captain (a nobleman with a real name), with the body of the guards and started to embody the state and the nation. The fact that these uniforms belonged to the real officers, rather than being sewn for the *coup* as was

originally planned, emphasised their authenticity and undermined the subversive implications of this cross-dressing.[4]

The unsettling semantics of masquerade, which is often deployed during disruptive periods in history, was, however, still latently present in this act of cross-dressing. These costume tropes lend themselves successfully to the rhetoric of disavowal and legitimation and can help disrupt the status quo. They can also have a destabilising impact during times of peace and stability. While Catherine II continued, throughout her reign, to capitalise on political meanings of dress, her employment of its rhetorical potential gradually became more conventional and traditional.

During Peter I's reign, much discontent was expressed among the population about his travesties of royal and church rituals and his westernising policies, which included the introduction of European-style dress for the urban population. These changes were seen by popular imagination as manifestations of pagan carnival culture and, as a result, the perception of the tsar as Antichrist was not uncommon. During her reign, Peter's daughter, Elizabeth (1741-1762) donned an officer's uniform or riding habit on many occasions and organised cross-dressing balls at her court, which many nobles resented. While, in her memoirs, Catherine II mentions cross-dressing balls at Elizabeth's court that took place in 1744, the Journals of Imperial Court occasionally document cross-dressing balls in the entries for 1750. At these parties, Empress Elizabeth requested that women don men's garments and men wear long robes called *simarres*, women's caftans covering the knees and another type of court dress referred to as *shlafor* from *schlafrock*, probably a loosely fitting dress.[5]

When Catherine II came to the throne, she embraced eulogistic, didactic and entertaining functions of masquerades. In 1763, she organised a street pageant 'Minerva Triumphant', which presented her in the guise of the Roman goddess whose enlightenment project, according to Richard Wortman, aimed to overcome 'the flaws of humanity' with the help of knowledge and reason, education and laws.[6] At the same time, she tried to distance herself from subversive masquerade implications and semantics of imposture. Her memoirs included stories of her own cross-dressing at Elizabeth's court; she wrote about wearing male outfits every day except Sunday in Oranienbaum and disguising herself as a man to escape the court for a night out with friends.[7] At the beginning of her reign, she occasionally decreed male courtiers to wear ladies' clothes during court entertainments, for instance on 10 and 25 December of 1765.[8] Seasonal masquerades continued to take place at court and she often attended public and private masquerades in masquerade costumes.[9] However, starting from 1764, the court journals mention that she often retreated to an adjoining room to play cards after a short presence at the balls and sometimes did not attend masquerades.[10] Her dress discourse, enacted through her own dress practices and policies for nobles and civil servants, gradually became more traditional and was based on the rhetoric of belonging and cross-cultural reciprocity.

Meanwhile, she continued to playfully deploy masquerade and cross-dressing rhetoric in her written texts. This discursive shift is apparent in her employment of costume tropes in issue no. 77 of the periodical *All Sorts of Things* (1769). Under the guise of a fictional male author, the empress, Viktor Zhivov has argued, employed a garment metaphor to juxtapose her policies with those of Peter I and, I would suggest,

with those of Empress Elizabeth: '[...] when I was young, I preferred Russian clothing because it seemed to agree with prudence more than the French. They told me that I had a savage taste. Now I praise this clothing because it seems more fitting for our climate than any other […]'. At the end of this piece, the author suggests a compromise—to add some elements of French dress and to remove some excesses from Russian dress—justifying this decision by the demands of the climate and common sense.[11] Since the time of Peter I's clothing reforms, which accentuated cultural, social and ideological polarisations within society, authors employed dress imagery to convey ideological differences. The above quotation comments not only on Catherine's approach to dress reforms, but also encapsulates her approach to modernisation. Like Peter I, she valued efficiency and practicality, but, under the influence of Montesquieu and Voltaire, she encouraged gradual reform and cross-cultural communication.

The uniform dresses, which Catherine II commissioned for herself after she became empress, provides a good example of cultural complementarity of native and European elements, reflecting similar sartorial tendencies in Europe during this period. As a colonel and patron of military regiments, the empress participated in various formal and informal ceremonies—patron saints' days and anniversaries of the regiments that included mass services and meals with officers; military parades and inspections; wedding ceremonies and the christening of officers' babies.[12] These rituals strengthened her connection with the regiments and showed appreciation for their service.[13] The empress often wore dresses modelled on the uniforms of specific military units on these occasions. The court journals record that she wore the uniforms during her journey to the Baltic regions in 1764 on several occasions when she attended military exercises,

inspected fortifications, travelled with the fleet and greeted her guests who came to pay respects.[14] She celebrated the Day of the Presentation of Theotokos to the Temple on 21 November 1764 with the Semenovsky Life Guards regiment, and wore the uniform of this regiment to a mass and meal with the officers.[15] According to Prince Ivan Dolgorukov (1764-1823), who served in the Semenovsky regiment between 1782 and 1790, the empress 'sewed a Life Guards uniform for herself' for regimental festivities—'a green women's dress trimmed with gold bullion braid and copper gilt buttons'.[16] Catherine also occasionally donned riding habits of the regimental colours when she went hunting or travelled outside St. Petersburg.[17]

As many dress historians observe, Catherine's uniform dresses combined elements of fashionable European dress with pre-Petrine features and included elements of men's attire and military insignia.[18] The dresses consisted of several garments. Earlier dresses, such as Catherine's uniform dress, from the late 1760s, which was modelled on the Preobrazhensky Life Guards regiment, from the collection of the Museum of Costume in Pavlovsk, consisted of two garments—a green gown with a bodice and a skirt open at the front, and a green petticoat that were trimmed with gold bullion braid. The bodice had a single turndown collar and sleeves with decorative cuffs.[19] The gowns that the empress started to wear in the 1770s were of two types: fitted redingote-style dresses or open robes with or without trains, with decorative hanging sleeves. They were closely fitted at the back and loosely gathered at the waistline. The gowns were worn over a long-sleeved underdress, a low-cut bodice or a double-breasted waistcoat with side pockets and a petticoat.[20] According to French fashions, the dresses were worn over the hoops. The fitted backs were elements of men's dress that had their origin in English

riding habits. Long, tube-style sleeves with cuffs, small and narrow or big and wide single or double turndown collars and plain gilt buttons of different sizes were elements of men's dress. Unlike men's uniforms, which were made from wool, the dresses were usually made from silk. Their colours corresponded to those of military uniforms: green for dresses modelled on the uniforms of the Semenovsky and Preobrazhensky Life Guards, blue and red for dresses modelled on the uniforms of the Life Guards Horse Regiment, blue and linen-white for gowns modelled on the uniforms of the Chevalier Guard Regiment, linen-white and turquoise for the navy, and green and red for infantry dresses. The dress worn under the gown was usually of a contrasting colour with the exception of the sleeves and back, which matched the colour of the gown. In accordance with the military aesthetics and responding to Catherine's penchant for neoclassical style, the gowns had minimal ornamentation. Their designs made them suitable for walking, travelling and riding.

Figures 2 and 3

The uniform dresses (with the exception of the infantry ones) were trimmed with gold bullion braid that, when sewn onto a petticoat or an underdress, resembled a decorative element of the Russian pinafore dresses [*sarafans*].

Figure 4

The open gowns, which Catherine II started to wear in the 1770s, incorporated a greater variety of native features, such as open armholes and decorative hanging sleeves. The decorative hanging sleeves were an element of traditional Russian dress. As Svetlana Amelekhina has observed, various types of long coats—*odnoriadka*, *okhaben'* and *ferezeia*—worn by nobles prior to the Petrine reforms and folk garments, various kinds of

pinafore dresses—*klinnik*, *sushun* and *feriaz'*—had decorative hanging sleeves. Such incorporation of native features in ceremonial clothes was common for many European countries during this period, with *robes à la française* introduced in the French court, *robes* à *l'anglaise* adopted in the English court and national court dress introduced in Sweden. [21]

Figure 5

Although some of Catherine's later uniform dresses, particularly redingote-style ones, preserved a close-fitting shape, many of them were of generous fit. Discussing the empress' ceremonial 'Russian dress' (that she introduced at court in the 1770s, which was similar in style to the uniform dresses), the astronomer Johann III Bernoulli has observed that the reasons for the empress' preference of loose-fitting 'Russian dress' were both practical and political. He noted that during the birthday celebration for the Preobrazhensky regiment on 17 August 1777, the empress looked tired in her dress, which was too tight and too warm for her. Most probably, she wore a closely fitted gown on this occasion.[22]

Figures 6 and 7

The loose-fitting gowns provided comfort for the aging empress, while the vertical lines, emphasised by braiding and/or contrasting colours of gowns and underdresses, helped her look slimmer. The regular sets of these garments included both tailored and loose-fitting dresses. According to Sergei Samonin, the set from the collection of the State Historical Museum dated to 1792 includes five garments—an open gown with decorative hanging sleeves, an open riding habit, a low-cut bodice, a waistcoat and a petticoat, which the empress could have worn in several combinations.[23] It is

possible that she wore a tailored redingote while riding and loose fitting gowns with trains when on foot. At least eight museums in Russia have uniform dresses in their collections.

Catherine II was not the first empress to wear uniform dresses. According to the court journals, in 1726 Catherine I (1725-1727), the wife of Peter I, wore an Amazon's dress (a prototype of the uniform redingote) when she bestowed the rank of lieutenant colonel of the Preobrazhensky Regiment upon Charles Friedrich Holstein Gottorp, the husband of Peter I's daughter, Anna.[24] Empress Elizabeth wore a uniform dress for her accession ceremony and made it common practice to wear uniforms of regimental colours for regimental festivities. In the court journals, they are mentioned under several names—a lady's dress, a caftan and a uniform.[25] Most likely, they were similar to European redingotes and uniform dresses Catherine II wore in the 1760s. According to Alexey Rogatnev, in the nineteenth century the tradition of wearing uniform dresses for ceremonial occasions became a regular practice for female members of the royal family.[26]

Catherine II sometimes wore uniform dresses to masked balls. Describing a masquerade that took place in 1787 in the house of Count and General-Field Marshal Petr Rumiantsev in Kiev during Catherine's Crimean journey, Count Andrey Poletika noted that on this occasion the empress had chosen to wear a regimental dress modelled on the uniform of the cuirassier regiment.[27] This regiment was part of the Ukrainian Army of which Rumiantsev was in charge.[28] Her choice of dress can be better understood in the context of her correspondence with Grigory Potemkin. In a letter written on 29 June 1783, she singled out a uniform as the most honourable dress and conveyed her

disapproval of Gustav III, the King of Sweden, for not allowing his officers to come to court in military uniforms.[29] In 1778, Gustav III introduced Burgundian-style 'black and crimson dress' as part of the national attire for both sexes of the nobles and the middle estate. Catherine saw Swedish officers dressed in this attire during her meetings with the King in 1783.[30] On the painting by Cornelius Höyer (1741-1804), that depicts a meeting of the two sovereigns in Fredrikshamn, the King wears the Swedish dress of black and crimson colours, which was decreed for everyday wear, and fashionable shoes with red heels while the empress wears a dress modelled on the uniform of the Preobrazhensky regiment. According to the court journal, during these meetings the empress wore Life Guards' and Army uniforms with the Swedish order of the Seraphim, while Gustav III wore the Russian order of St. Andrew.[31] The outfits of the two rulers represented their attitudes to dress and political preferences. Gustav's dress incorporated native and French elements. Catherine's choice of a uniform dress pointed to her role models—soldier-rulers Peter I and Frederick I of Prussia. In the context of growing tensions between the two countries, with Gustav's regiments stationed at the Russian-Swedish border in Tavastehus (Hämeenlinna), these dress choices can be read as political statements, with the Preobrazhensky uniform serving as a reminder of the outcome of the Great Northern War.[32]

Figure 8

In the domestic context, Catherine's gowns demonstrated her respect for native traditions, while their European elements reflected current transnational influences. Such complementarity of native and European features in ceremonial dresses was common across Europe in the late eighteenth century.

Catherine II realised the principles of her personal 'investiture', which visually conveyed her policy-making approaches, on a large scale after Pugachev's rebellion of 1773-1775 through sumptuary policies and the introduction of regional uniforms. These policies were part of her regional reforms aiming for consolidation of the state after the popular unrest[33] and modernisation of social and political institutions. Similarly to Peter I, who introduced new clothing policies after the suppression of the *strel'tsy*'s (musketeers') uprising of 1698, Catherine II introduced the majority of her sumptuary decrees after the Pugachev rebellion and referred to the economic damage caused by the uprising as a rationale for their introduction.[34] The aims of these policies were to decrease luxury consumption, provide a clothing-based mechanism of social control and to integrate nobles and civil servants into new social institutions.

Catherine's Sumptuary Policies and Introduction of Regional Uniforms

Catherine II made the first attempts to reform political and social institutions when she summoned the Legislative Commission of 1767-1768, a consultative organ that included representatives of all estates except for serfs, not in equal proportion. Her *Instructions for the Legislative Commission* discussed by the deputies articulated legal principles of governance.[35] According to Oleg Omel'chenko, her decision to convene the Commission can be explained by her aim to further solidify her rule by introducing some decentralisation of executive and judicial powers and legislative socialisation.[36] The documents composed by the working groups formed the basis for the administrative reforms carried out in the period between 1775 and 1785. The aims of these reforms were to create an efficient system of territorial divisions; improve regional governance and economic and social welfare; to find new ways to engage nobles and other estates in civil

service and to increase its esteem. The latter two goals became particularly important after the publication of Peter III's Manifesto in 1762 that freed nobles from obligatory service. As Simon Dixon and other scholars have argued, through her policies Catherine II looked for new ways to engender nobles' *esprit de corps*.[37] To this end, new territorial divisions (*namestnichestvo*) and new administrative, social and educational institutions were introduced in the regions. According to Ivan Dolgorukov, whose father participated in these reforms, the empress 'wanted to introduce a new government in Russia and created a new body politic while undoing' the old institutions, such as 'colleges, voivodships, governorate and provincial chancelleries with all their clerks'.[38] Alongside these reforms, the empress introduced distinct uniforms for each region. She deployed dress as a cognitive, symbolic structure to promote and implement social changes. By regulating the social and the visual, she tried to shape political and cultural imaginary, building on the example of the Petrine clothing policies. Remarkably, her letter to Voltaire written on 29 May [9 June n.s.] 1767 from Kazan during her Volga journey conveyed her reformative agenda through a reference to the coat that might befit diverse population of Russia:

> […] Here I am in Asia; I wanted to see it for myself. There are in this city twenty different people, who bear absolutely no resemblance to each other. However, I have to make them a coat which will fit them all. It is not hard to find general principles; but what about the details? And what details! I might say there is almost a whole world to be created, united, preserved. I may never be able to complete it; there are far too many different customs here […]. [39]

The image of the coat metaphorically expresses Catherine's attempt to rationalise governance and her plan to modernise the government while also highlighting her search for a compromise—a uniform system that could accommodate local specificities. The state started to implement regional policies in 1775 and Catherine used the cultural resource of uniform to regulate and regenerate regional political and social institutions.

Catherine's sumptuary decrees introduced after Pugachev's rebellion on 3, 18 and 30 April and 7 November 1775 regulated visual representations of nobles' ranks—types of carriages, number of attending servants and their livery distinctions. The government justified the introduction of these regulations by referencing the recent events that damaged nobles' estates (Pugachev's uprising), and their excessive debts—in particular, mortgage of estates to meet nobles' expenses, thus channeling the Enlightenment anti-luxury discourse. The decrees also responded to the anxieties about the order of estates, the boundaries of which were shaken by the popular uprising.

Compared to Elizabeth's sumptuary decrees, many of which regulated court ceremonies, Catherine's policies aimed at regulating public life for a wider strata of urban population—civil servants of all ranks, nobles who did not have chief officers' ranks, their wives, widows and children, merchants and townspeople. [40] Catherine's decrees of 18 and 30 April 1775 granted additional privileges to Life Guards officers, and those nobles who did not have chief officers' ranks, but reached the age of fifty—the latter (along with female members of their families) were allowed to ride in carriages driven by a pair of horses. Majors of the Life Guards were permitted to have carriages and liveries of the fifth rank and chief officers of the seventh and eighth ranks. These distinctions were up to three ranks higher than those of the officers serving in other military units.[41]

The decrees showed support for long-serving nobles in the military, and officers of the elite regiments who often decided the fate of the throne in eighteenth-century Russia. After the suppression of Pugachev's rebellion, these privileges recognised officers' contributions to defending the throne during the uprising. Violators of these regulations were expected to make contributions to the hospitals equal to the amount of a poll tax of the person whose rank they misappropriated.[42] Catherine's punitive measures were directed at improving welfare, although the extent of their effectiveness would require further investigation. As a point of comparison, Peter I's clothing decrees did not claim any benefits for welfare.

From regulating service ranks, the empress moved to institutionalising nobles and civil servants within regional structures and the introduction of regional uniforms.[43] According to Leonid Shepelev, the incentive for the introduction of the uniforms was the twentieth anniversary of Catherine's accession to the throne. In the preceding year, she decreed civil servants and landed gentry to sew uniforms of the colours matching the colours of their regional coats of arms and ordered their wives to wear dresses of matching colours.[44] By analogy with her own initiation into the state role by donning Captain Talyzin's uniform during the *coup* and uniform dresses for regimental occasions, civil servants and landed gentry were symbolically initiated into their regional roles by donning regional uniforms. In this instance, the empress deployed the rhetorical potential of dress to regenerate the value of civil service, which started to lose its esteem long before the introduction of the Manifesto of 1762 that freed nobles from obligatory service. [45] Her second aim was to strengthen the nobles' connections with the regions. Many nobles continued to serve after 1762, and as a result, were away from their estates.

Moreover, many had estates in several regions. The uniforms highlighted the links with the regions through the colour similarities with the coats of arms, most of which the government formally approved in the period between 1775 and 1785.[46]

The idea to introduce regional uniforms may have come to the empress in 1780 during her trip to Mogilev, which became part of the Russian empire after the first partition of Poland in 1772. In 1776, the Polish Seym introduced county uniforms of the colours chosen by the nobility of each region for landowners, Seym deputies and government officials in response to this partition. During her trip, the empress had meetings with Polish nobles who most likely wore county uniforms on these occasions. According to Tadeusz and Andrzej Jeziorkowski, until 1780 Polish uniforms had military epaulettes.[47] Remarkably, regional uniforms in Russia went through the same change between 1782 and 1784.

These clothing policies reflected national and transnational processes across Europe during this time. As noted by Mikael Alm, dress uniformity became an increasing trend in late eighteenth-century Europe with the national costume for both sexes being introduced in Sweden; the Windsor uniform in Britain and the civil uniform in Spain.[48] The regional uniforms introduced in Poland and Russia were part of this process.

The colour symbolism of the first uniforms was particularly easy to see. The coat of arms of Penza, a regional centre in the western part of Russia, formally approved by the Senate in 1781, celebrated agriculture of this region presenting wheat, barley and millet sheaves in the green field.[49] In accordance with this colour symbolism, the coat and lining of the first Penza uniforms were green, the collar, cuffs and knee breeches were

black and the waistcoat was pale-yellow.[50] Penza's general-governor informed the Senate in November of 1782 that the uniforms for his region had been sewn over the summer.

The decree of 9 April 1784, reduced the number of uniform colours to three (blue for northern, red for central and dark cherry for southern regions). Green was not used for regional uniforms to distinguish them from the military ones. Each of the forty two regions had its own combination of coloured coats, linings, collars, cuffs, lapels, waistcoats and breeches (the latter two were identical in colour). The uniforms had slight variations in the cuff shapes, quantity, position and colour of buttons and some uniforms had contrasting lapels. The uniforms of staff officers and high-ranking officials in Moscow, Ekaterinoslav and Tauride (Crimea) regions had embroidered buttonholes.[51] The colours of the collars, cuffs and lapels or the colours of waistcoats and breeches often corresponded to those of the regional coats of arms. Blue coats introduced in Kostroma region had light blue linings, collars, lapels and rounded cuffs and yellow buttons. Waistcoats and breeches were also light blue, matching the colour of the shield on Kostroma's coat of arms, the first coat of arms that Catherine granted to a town. This coat of arms, depicting a ship sailing under the imperial standard, commemorated her visit to Kostroma in 1767 on the galley built for her Volga journey.[52]

Civil servants of Simbirsk region had red coats with pockets and light blue slanted cuffs and collars. The linings, waistcoats and breeches were white. Simbirsk's old coat of arms, formally approved in 1780, had similar colours. It depicted a gold crown on a white column in the blue field.[53] Civil servants of the southern regions (Ekaterinoslav, Tauride, Kiev and the Caucasus) had cherry-coloured coats with green or light blue linings, velvet collars, cuffs and lapels and four buttons on the sleeve slits. The Caucasian uniform had

light blue waistcoats and breeches and no lapels. The other three uniforms had white waistcoats and breeches. [54] As Shepelev observed, decorative elements of the first regional uniforms (epaulettes, buttons and presence or absence of lapels) reflected rank distinctions. The new decree of 1784 did not specify any distinctions apart from the embroidered buttonholes for the three regions. Only the quality of fabric, tailoring and state awards conveyed information about seniority or income.[55] However, the uniforms distinguished those who served or were expected to serve, contributing to shaping their service and regional identities and making their regional identities easily recognisable.

Figure 9[56]

According to Raisa Kirsanova, Catherine II attempted to incorporate both men and women into a state system through these clothing policies.[57] The decree of 24 October 1782 encouraged both men and women to wear regional uniforms in public places and during visits to the court.[58] The use of clothing policies to integrate women into social institutions was not a new phenomenon. Noblewomen had been wearing court dress for centuries. In eighteenth-century Russia, Empress Elizabeth introduced elements of dress uniformity for both sexes when she decreed court ladies and gentlemen to wear coats. Her decree, introduced in 1752, specified white taffeta coats with green cuffs, fur trimmings, skirts of *gros de Tours* ribbed silk with silver bullion braided galloons, *papillote* curls and green hair ribbons for ladies attending evening parties at the royal summer residence in Peterhof, while gentlemen were expected to wear uniforms of matching colours.[59] In Catherine's court, those ladies who received the Order of St. Catherine were required to wear uniform dresses of their Order for certain court

celebrations.[60] In 1782, she made an attempt to implement a similar policy for the wives of nobles and civil servants.

Elizaveta Ian'kova, a Moscow noblewoman, recalled that in the early 1780s, her mother had two regional dresses—an azure one with red decorative elements and another one of silver colour. Her father had estates in Kaluga and Tula regions. The second dress consisted of a satin skirt and a long *casaquin*/*surtout* with red lining and red silk trimmings that was made from kersey fabric. According to Ian'kova, the empress introduced these dresses to limit luxury consumption, but instead the prices for poor quality fabrics increased when the ladies started to order these dresses. As a result, women only wore them for two winters.[61] In the letter to her father written at the end of 1782, Princess Dashkova praised the uniforms of the regions in which he served as a governor. In particular, she praised the uniforms of the Vladimir region where she wanted to purchase a village. Alexander Khrapovitsky noted in the same year that regional uniforms [only] made fathers and husbands happy.[62] The decree of 6 May 1784, once again reinforced the preference for regional uniforms for both sexes over luxury garments and encouraged the development of domestic textile industry and transregional trade. The state hoped that availability and inexpensiveness of domestic products would decrease their import. [63]

Both regional coats of arms and uniforms expressed structural and functional relationships within the state and attempted to integrate civil servants, nobles and their families, as well as smaller ethnicities, into these structures. In 1784, the drawings of the men's uniforms with accompanying descriptions were sent to the Senate and forwarded to regional institutions, marshals of the nobility and town heads. Both drawings and

descriptions had an instructional and symbolic value in contributing to the processes of identity formation. Each illustration depicted a man with a sword in a uniform standing over a generic landscape and a coat of arms.[64] Structurally, they connected the land and the individual and demonstrated appreciation for local culture. Here, social identity was shaped within the realm of cultural imaginary, which privileged longer connections--narratives of belonging (cultural memories, loyalties and affections)--over those of social distinctions. Both the coats of arms and the uniforms reflected the cultural heritage of the regions and gave each region a sense of a distinctive identity that contributed to shaping regional and service identities of civil servants and nobles, and integrated them into a larger entity.

Figure 10[65]

In the 1770s and 1780s, the government made efforts to systematise records of noble families in local genealogical books and make topographical descriptions of towns and regions. The second project started in 1760 and was motivated by the necessity to make a new geographical atlas of Russia.[66] During Elizabeth's reign, the surveys prepared by the Academy of Sciences and the Cadet Corps were sent to the regions. The survey composed by the Cadet Corps included questions on the history of towns and their coats of arms.[67] The process of collecting information about regions and the establishment of new regional institutions was gradual, partial and faced various challenges (delays, falsifications, thefts of state funds from the offices of social welfare and other power abuses). The Russian poet and statesman, Gavriil Derzhavin, witnessed various power abuses in the Olonets region and expressed serious reservations about the

regional report prepared by its governor Timofei Tutolmin who listed hospitals and schools that did not exist.[68] Many topographical descriptions, however, were published with some appearing in Nikolai Novikov's *Ancient Russian Library* (1773-1775, second edition: 1788-1791) and *The Solitary Bumpkin*, the first regional journal published in Yaroslavl in 1786 with the support of the governor Alexey Mel'gunov.[69] The reports provided information about regional institutions of welfare, while *The Solitary Bumpkin* published detailed reports on opening of town schools and mentioned acts of philanthropy, for instance, merchants' donations to cover teachers' salaries in Vologda, a town in north-western Russia.[70] As scholars have shown, regional reforms helped improve welfare, town planning and building, and intellectual and cultural life in the regions. These policies and processes led to the revival of interest in geography and ethnography, familial and local history, including the history of coats of arms.[71] In accordance with the rules of heraldic science, coats of arms documented the legends of origins and achievements. Together with the regional uniforms, they conveyed a sense of being united through appreciation of local culture and manifested respect for regional entities and boundaries.

The rhetoric of the drawings depicting men in uniforms reinforced similarities and distinctions as well as relationality of individuals within geographical entities. The pictures promoted the notion of interdependence of the state, whose new boundaries were recently set, projecting images of an ideal social order where subjects could become citizens through their involvement in local work. This rhetoric affected cultural imagination. The portraits of civil servants in regional and professional uniforms (the latter were introduced around the 1790s) started to appear at the end of Catherine's

reign.[72] Both the empress and regional governors encouraged their creation by opening commemorative spaces, which celebrated work and achievements of civil servants. According to Tatiana Kastorskaia, Dmitry Levitsky depicted Alexey Mel'gunov, the governor of Yaroslavl' region, in the regional uniform for Catherine's gallery of glory of cavaliers of St. Vladimir award. Similar portraits of the Yaroslavl' residents, who financially supported the opening of the foundling house in the town, dressed in regional uniforms were created for the gallery of this house.[73] Such portraits celebrated public service and philanthropic work of civil servants.

Figure 11

As this article has shown, the uniform policies were an integral part of Catherine's political and social reforms. The strategic need to establish her authority and continuity, her desire to modernise the system of governance, to revitalise the value of civil service, in particular, the esteem of regional service and to establish strong regional identities of nobles and civil servants—these processes were all embodied in the uniform and its changes. While the body politic was imagined as uniformed in Catherine's sartorial discourse, it did not entail strict uniformisation (assembling everyone under a single identical vestment). Instead, a complex culture of the uniform of the period and the multiplicity of semiotic distinctions that combined a whole area of codes, regimental identities through which the political elite distinguished within itself, became transposed into an idea of regional divisions as part of a policy regulating the body politic.

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[1] "Après un léger repas, l'Impératrice proposa de marcher sur Péterhoff à la tête des troupes, et elle me désigna pour l'accompagner dans cette expédition. Ayant eu l'idée de se revêtir à cet effet d'un uniforme des gardes, elle en emprunta un au capitaine Talitzen; et moi, suivant son exemple, je fis le même emprunt au lieutenant Pouschkin, ces deux jeunes officiers étant à peu près de notre taille. Ces costumes, soit dit en passant, étaient l'ancien uniforme national des Préobraginsky de la garde, tel qu'il avait été porté depuis

le temps de Pierre Ier, jusqu'au jour où il fut remplacé par l'uniforme prussien que Pierre III avait introduit. Et, c'est une circonstance digne de remarque, à peine ce matin l'Impératrice était-elle entrée à Pétersbourg, que les gardes, comme s'ils en avaient reçu l'ordre, ayant dépouillé leur costume étranger, reparurent du premier au dernier avec l'ancien uniforme de leur pays." See Ekaterina R. Daschkoff, [1804-1805], *Mémoires de la princesse Daschkoff*, 2 vols (Paris : Librairie A. Franck, 1859), i, pp. 110-11.

[2] Vera Proskurina, *Creating the Empress: Politics and Poetry in the Age of Catherine II*, (Brighton, MA: Academic Studies Press, 2011), pp. 13-23.

[3] Igor' Zimin, *Vzroslyi mir imperatorskikh residentsii. Vtoraia chetvert' XIX—nachalo XX v.* (Moscow: Tsentropoligraf, c2011), p. 84.

[4] I am grateful to Boris Maslov for pointing my attention the importance of authenticity of these uniforms.

[5] Catherine II [1790s], *Sochineniia imperatritsy Ekateriny II*, ed. Alexander N. Pypin, 12 vols (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1901-1907), p. 296-97; Kamer-fur'erskie zhurnaly, 1750 goda (St. Petersburg: 1850s), pp. 21-28, 117-18, 137; Zhurnaly kamer-fur'erskie, 1751 goda (St. Petersburg: 1850s), p. 94, 110.

[6] Richard S. Wortman, *Scenarios of Power. Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy. From Peter the Great to the Abdication of Nicholas II* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 57.

[7] Catherine II, *Sochineniia imperatritsy Ekateriny II*, vol. 12, pp. 316-17, 360-61.

[8] Zhurnaly kamer-fur'erskie, 1765 goda (St. Petersburg, 1850s), pp. 242, 251.

[9] Zhurnaly kamer-fur'erskie, 1763 goda (St. Petersburg: 1850s), pp. 3, 5-6, 9-11, 14, 19-20, 24-27.

[10] Zhurnaly kamer-fur'erskie, 1764 goda (St. Petersburg: 1850s), pp. 109-110, 216, 323.

[11] *Vsiakaia Vsiachina*, 77 (1769), pp. 201-203; Viktor Zhivov, '"Vsiakaia Vsiachina" i sozdanie Ekaterininskogo politicheskogo diskursa', in *Eighteenth-Century Russia: Society, Culture, Economy*, ed. by Roger Bartlett & Gabriela Lehmann-Carli (Berlin: LIT Verlag, c2008), pp. 251-65 (p. 257).

[12] Zhurnaly, kamer-fur'erskie, 1763, pp. 12, 30, 110, 141, 165, 170, 186, 200, 203, 229, 233; Zhurnaly, kamer-fur'erskie, 1764, pp. 17, 55, 90-91, 100, 104, 139, 162, 172-73, 182, 221, 233, 279, 287, 305-306, 309, 322, 337, 348.

[13] Zhurnaly, kamer-fur'erskie, 1763, pp. 12, 30, 110, 141, 165, 170, 186, 200, 203, 229, 233; Zhurnaly, kamer-fur'erskie, 1764, pp. 17, 55, 90-91, 100, 104, 139, 162, 172-73, 182, 221, 233, 279, 287, 305-306, 309, 322, 337, 348.

[14] Zhurnaly, kamer-fur'erskie, 1764, pp. 279, 287-88, 322.

[15] Zhurnaly, kamer-fur'erskie, 1764, pp. 221-22; Zhurnaly, kamer-fur'erskie, 1765, pp. 43, 97, 105, 108-109, 119, 278, 283, 298; Zhurnaly, kamer-fur'erskie, 1766 goda (St. Petersburg, 1850s), pp. 94, 166.

[16] Ivan M. Dolgorukov, *Povest' o rozhdenii moem, proiskhozhdenii i vsei zhizni, pisannaia mnoi samim i nachataia v Moskve 1788-go goda v avguste mesiatse, na 25-om godu ot rozhdeniia moego*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg: Nauka, 2004), p. 67.

[17] Zhurnaly kamer-fur'erskie, 1765, pp. 119; Zhurnaly kamer-fur'erskie, 1766, pp. 73-74, 76, 94-95, 98, 100-101.

[18] This analysis of Catherine's uniform dresses is based on several sources including Tatiana S. Alyoshina, Inna I. Vishnevskaya, Luisa V. Efimova, Tamara T. Korshunova, V. A. Malm, Elena Yu. Moiseenko, Marina M. Postnokova-Loseva, Elena P. Chernukha, comps, *History of Russian Costume from the Eleventh to the Twentieth Century* (New

York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1977), pp. 80-81; Tamara Korshunova, *The Art of Costume in Russia, 18th to Early 20th Century: The Hermitage*, trans. by Inna Sorokina (Leningrad: Aurora, 1983), pp. 11, 293 and on my own studies.

[19] See a photograph of this dress and its description in Natal'ia M. Vershinina, *Musei kostiuma. Al'bom-putevoditel'* (St. Petersburg: LIK, 2014), pp. 36-37.

[20] See descriptions of uniform dresses in Sergey Iu. Samonin, 'Voennyi kostium v Rossii XVIII—nachala XX veka', in Luisa V. Efimova, Tat'iana S. Aleshina, Sergey Iu. Samonin, *Kostium v Rossii XV—nachalo XX veka. Iz sobraniia Gosudarstvennogo istoricheskogo muzeia* (Moscow: Art-Rodnik, 2000), pp. 182-85.

[21] Svetlana Amelekhina, *Tseremonial'nyi kostium Rossiiskogo imperatorskogo dvora v sobranii Muzeev Moskovskogo Kremlia* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennyi istoriko-kul'turnyi muzei-zapovednik "Moskovskii Kreml'," c2016), pp. 193-94; Svetlana Amelekhina and Daniel Green, 'Ceremonial "Russian dress" as a phenomenon of court culture', *Clothing Cultures*, 3.3 (2016), pp. 191-218 (p. 194).

[22] Johann III Bernoulli, 'Zapiski astronoma Ivana Bernulli o poezdke ego v Rossiiu v 1777 godu', in Petr Bartenev, ed., *Russkii arkhiv* (Moscow: Universitetskaia tipografiia, 1902), vol. 1, pp. 5-30 (pp. 16, 24-25).

[23] Samonin, 'Voennyi kostium', p. 182.

[24] Pokhodnyi zhurnal 1726 goda (St. Petersburg: 1855), pp. 14-15.

[25] Zhurnaly kamer-fur'erskie, 1750 goda, pp. 135-37; Zurnaly kamer-fur'erskie, 1751, pp. 109-10; Zurnaly kamer-fur'erskie, 1755 (St. Petersburg: 1850s), pp. 28, 106-107; Zurnaly kamer-fur'erskie, 1756 (St. Petersburg: 1850s), pp. 26-27, 76-77.

[26] Alexey S. Rogatnev, 'Zhenskie shefskie voennye mundiry: kur'ez ili neobkhodimost'?' <http://www.tzar.ru/science/research/female_uniform/> [accessed 21 December 2017] (para 6-7 of 10).

[27] Andrey Poletika, *Zapiski o prebyvanii imperatritsy Ekateriny Vtoroi v Kieve v 1787 godu i o svidanii ee s Stanislavom-Avgustom, korolem pol'skim* (St. Petersburg: tipografiia I. Glazunova i Co, 1843), p. 8.

[28] Alexander V. Bespalov, 'Rumiantsev Petr Alexandrovich,' http://100.histrf.ru/commanders/rumyantsev-zadunayskiy-petr-aleksandrovich/ [accessed 17 February 2019] (para 18 of 43).

[29] See Catherine II and Grigory A. Potemkin, *Lichnaia perepiska 1769-1791* (Moscow: Nauka, 1997), p. 174.

[30] On the Swedish national costume and Gustav's clothing choices during his meetings with Catherine II, see Philip Mansel, *Dressed to Rule. Royal and Court Costume from Louis XIV to Elizabeth II* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, c2005), pp. 51-54.

[31] Kamer-fur'erskii tseremonial'nyi zhurnal 1783 goda (St. Petersburg: 1882), pp. 281-82, 288.

[32] See correspondence between Catherine II and Potemkin in *Lichnaia perepiska*, pp. 157, 167. I am grateful to Rodolphe Baudin for pointing my attention to the context of the Great Northern War.

[33] The documents on Pugachev's rebellion foregrounded imagery of violence and fragmentation and drew on analogies between the state and physical body. The decrees

denounced the rebellion as a violent affliction, compared it with plague disease and appealed to restoration of the country's health. The documents deployed anti-masquerade rhetoric to disavow Emel'ian Pugachev and his supporters. See Alexander S. Pushkin, *Istoriia Pugacheva. Part II: Notes*, in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, ed. by Maksim Gorky et al, 17 vols (Moscow and Leningrad: Akademiia nauk, 1937-1959), vol. 9.1: 1950, pp. 165-73.

[34] Decree no. 14.290 in *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii, s 1649 goda* (hereafter *PSZRI*), 45 vols (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Otdeleniia Sobstvennoi Ego Imperatorskogo Velichestva Kantseliarii, 1830), vol. 20, pp. 100-102.

[35] Catherine's *Instructions* made analogies between legislature, landscape and physical and political bodies drawing on the extended metaphor of the body politic. See Catherine II, *Documents of Catherine the Great. The Correspondence with Voltaire and the Instructions of 1767 in the English text of 1768*, ed. by W. F. Reddaway (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1931), pp. 217, 224.

[36] Oleg A. Omel'chenko, *'Zakonnaia monarchiia' Ekateriny Vtoroi. Prosveshchennyi absoliutism v Rossii* (Moscow: Iurist, 1993), p. 93.

[37] Simon Dixon, *Catherine the Great* (London: Profile, 2010), p. 271.

[38] Dolgorukov, *Povest' o rozhdenii moem*, p. 55.

[39] Anthony Lentin, trans. and ed., *Voltaire and Catherine the Great: Selected Correspondence* (Cambridge : Oriental Research Partners,1974), p. 48. I introduced a minor change in this translation.

'[…] Me voilà en Asie, j'ai voulu voir cela par mes yeux. Il y a dans cette Ville vingt peuple divers, qui ne se ressemblent point du tout, il faut pourtant leurs faire un habit qui

leurs soit propre à tous. Ils peuvent ce bien trouver des principes généraux, mais les détails? et quels détails? J'allois dire, s'est presque un monde à créer, à unir, à conserver etc. Je ne finirai pas, et en voilà cependant beaucoup trop de touttes façon […]'. Catherine II to Voltaire, D14219 [1767], in Francois Marie Arouet de Voltaire, *Les œuvres complètes de Voltaire. 116. Correspondence and Related Documents,* definitive ed. by Theodore Besterman (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1974), pp. 145-146 (p. 146).

[40] Decrees nos. 14.290, 14.301, 14.311, 14.391 in *PSZRI,* vol. 20, pp. 100-102; 124; 130; 228-29.

[41] *PSZRI*, vol. 20, pp. 124, 130.

[42] *PSZRI*, vol. 20, pp. 100-102 (p. 101).

[43] Decrees nos. 15.557, 15.975 and 15.994 in *PSZRI*, vol. 21, pp. 713-14; vol. 22, pp. 90-93, 148.

[44] Leonid E. Shepelev, *Chinovnyi mir Rossii. XVIII—nachalo XX v.* (St. Petersburg: Iskusstvo-SPb, 1999), p. 199.

[45] On changing attitudes to service during Catherine's reign, see Elena N. Marasinova, *Psikhologiia elity rossiiskogo dvorianstva poslednei treti XVIII veka (po materialam perepiski)* (Moscow: Rosspen, 1999), pp. 95-133. Gradual decrease in the duration of obligatory service for nobles starting from the reign of Anna Ioannovna (1730-1740) and its consequent annulment in 1762 testifies to the earlier origins of these discontents.

[46] For a discussion of town coats of arms, see Pavel P. von Winkler, comp., *Gerby gorodov, gubernii, oblastei i posadov Rossiiskoi imperii, vnesennye v polnoe sobranie zakonov s 1649 po 1900 g*. (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia I. M. Komelova, 1900), viii-xx; Nadezhda A. Soboleva, *Rossiiskaia gorodskaia i oblastnaia geral'dika XVIII-XIX vv.*,

Moscow, 1981, pp. 22-111; 178-219. On the rules to observe when making coats of arms, see decree no. 13.780 in *PSZRI*, vol. 19, pp. 469-471 (p. 471).

[47] Tadeusz Jeziorkowski and Andrzej Jeziorkowski, *Mundury wojewódzkie Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów* (Warsaw: Pelta, 1992), pp. 37-40.

[48] Mikael Alm, 'Making a Difference: Sartorial Practices and Social Order in Eighteenth-Century Sweden', in *Costume*, 50.1 (2016), pp. 42-62 (pp. 42-44).

[49] Decree no. 15.165 in *PSZRI*, vol. 21, pp. 128-29.

[50] See excerpts from the reports of general-governors in Shepelev, *Chinovnyi mir Rossii*, pp. 200-201. Also, see *PSZRI*, vol. 21, pp. 128-29.

[51] *PSZRI*, vol. 22, pp. 90-93.

[52] Decree no. 12.992 in *PSZRI*, vol. 18, pp. 367.

[53] Decree no. 15.101 in *PSZRI*, vol. 20, pp. 1027-1028 (p. 1027).

[54] *PSZRI*, vol. 22, pp. 90–93.

[55] Shepelev, *Chinovnyi mir Rossii*, p. 202.

[56] I am grateful to Svetlana Bedrak for providing detailed information about this coat.

[57] Raisa M. Kirsanova, 'Iz istorii kostiuma russkikh imperatrits', in *Rossiia/ Russia: Kul'turnye praktiki v ideologicheskoi perspective. Rossiia, XVIII—nachalo XX veka*, 3.11, comp. by Natal'ia N. Mazur (Moscow: OGI, 1999), pp. 71-81 (p. 80).

[58] See also the decree of 6 May 1784 in *PSZRI*, vol. 21, pp. 713-14.

[59] Zhurnaly kamer-fur'erskie, 1752 goda (St. Petersburg: 1850s), pp. 37-38. Also, see Zhurnaly pokhodnye, 1744 goda (St. Petersburg: 1850s), p. 55; Zhurnal banketnyi 1745 goda (St. Petersburg: 1850s), p. 93;

[60] Zhurnaly kamer-fur'erskie, 1763 goda, p. 257-58.

[61] Tamara I. Ornatskaia, comp., *Rasskazy babushka. Iz vospominanii piati pokolenii, zapisannye i sobrannye ee vnukom D. Blagovo* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1989), p. 164.

[62] Ekaterina R. Dashkova, A Letter to Roman I. Vorontsov [1782], in *Arkhiv kniazia Vorontsova*, (Moscow: Tipografiia A. I. Mamontova i Co, 1880), vol. 24, p. 141; Alexander V. Khrapovitsky, *Pamiatnye zapiski A. V. Khrapovitskogo, stats-sekretaria imperatritsy Ekateriny Vtoroi* (St. Petersburg: Universitetskaia tipografiia, 1862), p. 4.

[63] *PSZRI*, vol. 22, p. 148.

[64] I analysed the drawings from the 1794 publication. They most likely were identical to the drawings published in 1784.

[65] To see the images of regional uniforms, go to http://elib.shpl.ru/ru/nodes/524-izobrazhenie-gubernskih-namestnicheskih-kollezhskih-i-vseh-shtatskih-mundirov-spb-1794#page/23/mode/inspect/zoom/4

[66] Decrees nos. 11.029, 11.165, 14.671 in *PSZRI*, vol. 15, pp. 420-21, 582; vol. 20, pp. 567-68.

[67] See Loggin I. Bacmeister [Hartwich Ludwig Christian Bacmeister] [1771-1774], *Topograficheskie izvestiia, sluzhashchie dlia polnogo geograficheskogo opisaniia Rossiiskoi imperii* (Moscow: Melanar, 2006), vol. 1, p. 10.

[68] Gavriil R. Derzhavin [1805-1813], *Sochineniia Derzhavina s ob''iasnitel'nymi zapiskami Ia. Grota*, 9 vols (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1864-1883), vol. 8: 1880, pp. 370-98.

[69] Nikolai I. Novikov, ed., *Drevniaia Rossiiskaia vivliofika*, 20 vols (Moscow: Tipograficheskaia kompaniia, 1788-1791), vol. 18: 1791, pp. 201-395, vol. 19: 1791, pp.

10-284; Vasilii D. Sankovskii, *Uedinennyi poshekhonets.* 12 parts (Iaroslavl': [n. p.], 1786), pp. 122-32, 161-90, 238-63, 432-58, 585-88, 697-718.

[70] Sankovskii, *Uedinennyi poshekhonets*, pp. 655-69.

[71] For discussions of the impact of Catherine's regional policies on social welfare, cultural life and town planning, see Nikolai D. Chechulin, *Russkoe provintsial'noe obshchestvo vo vtoroi polovine XVIII veka* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia V. S. Balasheva, 1889); Wortman, *Scenarios of Power*, pp. 63-64; Roman B. Konchakov, 'Mesto dvorianstva v formirovanii gorodskogo sotsial'nogo prostranstva (po materialam Tambova kontsa XVIII veka)', in *Dvorianstvo, vlast' i obshchestvo v provintsial'noi Rossii XVIII veka*, ed. by Ol'ga Glagoleva & Ingrid Schierle (Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2012), pp. 550-577. For a discussion of regional culture and industry, see Nikolai Ia. Ozeretskovskii, *Puteshestvie po Rossii. 1782-1783* (St. Petersburg: Liki Rossii, 1996).

In 1797, Paul I ordered to compile state genealogical records that included descriptions of familial coats of arms. See decree no. 17.749 in *PSZRI*, vol. 24, pp. 298-99.

[72] Regional uniforms gradually lost their 'exceptional status', as both civil servants and nobles (some of whom did not serve) wore them. Occupational uniforms helped emphasise this distinction. See Shepelev, *Chinovnyi mir Rossii*, p. 205.

[73] Tat'iana M. Kastorskaia, 'Vedomstvennaia galereiia A. P. Mel'gunova v Iaroslavle dlia "doma prezreniia, vospitaniia i obucheniia v nem sirot i neimushchikh detei" (1784-1790)', *Vestnik KGU im. N. A. Nekrasova* 13.2 (2007), pp. 206-210 (pp. 206, 209). See also Vladimir Borovikovsky, *Portrait of the Poet and Statesman Gavriil Romanovich Derzhavin (1743-1816)*, Russia, 1795, oil on canvas, 28,7 x 23,5 cm, Moscow, Tretyakov

Gallery, <http://www.nearyou.ru/borovik/1derzgavin-bor.html>, [accessed 17 March 2018]. Derzhavin is dressed in St. Petersburg uniform.